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United Nations Photo

This greeting between President Kennedy and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at the United Nations Sept. 25 seems to reflect good will and sincerity. If that spirit can be carried over to the disarmament negotiations table, there will be a better chance that man will escape nuclear self-destruction. For an analysis of the U.S. and Soviet disarmament proposals and an account of the background of efforts over the years to reduce war-making potential, read David Wesley's story at the right.

McCONE NOT A BIG CHANGE FROM DULLES

A new chief of the CIA—but an old cold-warrior

By Robert E. Light

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S designation of John A. McCone to succeed Allen W. Dulles, as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, effective in November, does not augur well for a lessening of world tensions. Those who sighed with relief at Dulles' retirement may find his successor an ice-cold warrior.

When McCone announced that he would resign as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission last December, **The Nation** headlined an editorial, "No Irreparable Loss." McCone opposed the nuclear test moratorium from its start in November, 1958, and throughout its duration he urged the U.S. to resume testing. **The Nation** granted his right to an opinion, but it called him "unscrupulous" for the "vicious methods he has used to further his policy."

HIS 'WARNING': On the eve of the test moratorium, Oct. 29, 1958, McCone told reporters that the suspension would delay and perhaps prevent U.S. development of "clean" nuclear bombs. After the suspension went into effect and negotiations were being held in Geneva for a test ban treaty in January, 1959, he said that "the detection system laid out at Geneva is not as adequate as it was thought to be."

While hopes were still high at Geneva, in July, 1959, McCone was asked at House Appropriations Committee hearings whether he thought the moratorium should continue after the December deadline President Eisenhower had set. He answered: "No, I would not continue this present type of ban. I would think that at the end of the year this policy should be very carefully reconsidered . . . I do not think that we should find ourselves

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GROMYKO'S REACTION, KHRUSHCHEV'S PLEDGE

First step by U. S. toward a real plan for disarmament

By David Wesley

IN THE INITIAL APPEARANCE of a Soviet diplomat before an international conference, Foreign Minister Georgi Chicherin proposed to the powers gathered at Geneva in 1922 a program for drastic reduction of armaments, including abolition of all weapons of mass destruction. Five years later his successor, **Maxim Litvinov**, stunned the League of Nations Preparatory Commission on Disarmament with proposals for total world disarmament within four years. In 1932 Litvinov advanced the plan again, and on Sept. 18, 1959, Premier Khrushchev repeated the call and put forth the world's first detailed blueprint for complete, fully inspected, phased disarmament.

Since its birth the Soviet Union, the first power in history to urge abolition of all military establishments, has had a diplomatic monopoly in the field of disarmament. But the disarmament offensive set off by the Khrushchev proposals to the UN finally broke the monopoly.

U.S. PROPOSAL: The General Assembly voted unanimously two months later for 10-nation negotiations aimed at "general and complete" disarmament, a clause previously considered so radical that even the organization's charter had made no mention of it. In the past year the neutralist states and the British Commonwealth nations have adopted statements on disarmament patterned on the Soviet design, and on Sept. 25 President Kennedy formally entered the U.S. in "the peace race" with the first American program for genuine disarmament.

That the U.S. had produced a plan of any substance at all represented a tremendous stride forward, for, as then Senator Kennedy declared on March 7, 1960, the U.S. has had "no consistent, convincing disarmament policy." In 1955 the U.S. had withdrawn its support from an Anglo-French first-stage formula when the Soviet Union accepted it in toto. From then until 1958 Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower's special assistant on disarmament matters, had been constant hot water with Secy. of State Dulles for, in effect, taking his job too seriously.

Subsequently, Frederick M. Eaton, a New York lawyer who led the Western team at the 10-nation Geneva conference in 1960, testified at recent Senate hearings that while in Geneva he had had little support back home and "found the lack of back-up papers on the American position to be extremely troublesome." After Eaton had taken his third or fourth trip back to Washington for consultations, the Russians on June 27 walked out of the conference.

BY STAGES: The walkout was also inspired by the "frivolous" nature of the two Western plans for "general and complete disarmament" introduced. Since the force level of 2,500,000 called for in the plans coincided pretty much with the existing U.S. level, no disarming whatever was proposed for the first stage, but only extensive inspection schemes and the creation of "study commissions." The disarming of the latter two stages would come about (if at all, in the Soviet view) only after a treaty embodying the first stage had been signed and carried out.

Worse, the West had once again retreated from a position the Russians had

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Report to Readers: HUAC seeks to smear Rights Assembly

By John T. McManus

WASHINGTON

DAY AND DATE with the opening Oct. 2 of the Supreme Court term which has before it the petition for rehearing of its June 5 decision affirming the McCarran Act of 1950, the House Un-American Activities Committee opened up a wholesale scarifying process against developing public opposition to enforcement of the act.

Subpenaed for hearing Oct. 2 and 3 and perhaps later were an initial group of at least a dozen individuals considered by HUAC as instrumental in organizing public opposition to the act, as well as representatives of the **NATIONAL GUARDIAN** and the **Worker** and an ad agency which placed an ad in the **N.Y. Times** Sept. 7 for the National Asembly for Democratic Rights which was held in New York Sept. 23 and 24. The ad agency subpena was originally issued to the N.Y. **Times**, which had objected to a committee investigator "fishing" in its files. The fishing into the background of ads for the Assembly and other activities in its behalf, apparently in expectation of finding that the Communist Party had paid for the ads, showed instead that they had been placed and paid for by committees themselves.

AT GUARDIAN press time only one of the subpenaed witnesses had been called. He was still on the stand when the first day's hearing ended, fighting off HUAC's efforts to classify the National Assembly as a communist front, despite its 155 sponsors of national prominence, including two Nobel prize winners.

Prior to the calling of the first subpenaed witness, the committee devoted more than two hours to laying the groundwork for its inquiry, evidently designed to intimidate growing public opposition to effectuation of the act. If it became operative, the act would first force registration of the Communist Party, its leadership and membership and then force similar registration, as communist front and communist-infiltrated, by any organizations with programs in any respect paralleling Comunist Party objectives. Even mimeograph machines of such organizations would have to be registered with the attorney general and each organization thus proscribed would have to identify itself on all literature and in any public activity by the designation given to it under McCarran Act terminology. The effect would be to drive out of public favor all beneficial political activity by labeling it communist.

LAST WEEK'S HUAC hearings opened at 2 p.m. Oct. 2 in the lofty white-columned caucus room of the old House Office Building opposite the nation's Capitol,

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Questions for JKF

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Sent the following letter to Kennedy today:

"Today I called the fallout research men of the OCD and asked them not only what the effect of fallout would be on the livestock of our agricultural economy, and the wild game and fish of the outdoors, but what it would do to the immense variety of insects which do the vital and essential work of pollenating the vegetable life of our planet on which all life depends.

"Not only could they not answer, but they admitted they had never even given thought to the problem of the insects.

"Since you lent your prestige and leadership to the scurrilous **Life** magazine which tries to intimate that up to 97% of our population could be saved by fallout shelters, it would seem only fair, on balance, to order scientific research on the total condition the earth would find itself in after man has fouled his nest. With industry crippled, livestock dead, the granaries contaminated, communications smashed and plant life perishing, the 97% of our 180 million people wandering in that wasteland would be some very special kind of delightful companions."

Donald Lindquist

No call

BOSTON, MASS.

Provocations aside, there was no call [for the Soviet Union] to be first in again testing A and H bombs and it doesn't look good. You would have said nastier things had we been first in resuming tests. **F. Weisenborn**

War for 'freedom'?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Twice in one generation the Germans have gone berserk, and besides the battle casualties inflicted on American and European military forces, they murdered in cold blood six million men, women and children who happened to be born Jews. Now we are ready to go to war to protect the "freedom" of these people! We will give them nuclear arms so they will be free to run amuck once more. How crazy can you get? **Samuel Buck**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MOBILE, Ala., Sept. 29 (AP)—A Federal judge today refused to grant a Justice Department request for a court order to open voter registration records of a rural southwest Alabama county to inspection by Federal agents. At a June 13 hearing, Asst. State Atty. Gen. Gordon Madison argued that no Neroes have applied for voter registration in Wilcox county in 50 or more years. Madison said, therefore, the board could not have engaged in racial discrimination.

—Chicago **Daily Tribune**, Sept. 30

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: T. M., Chicago, Ill.

'A horrifying sight'

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

I have sent the following letter to my Senator, Leverett Saltonstall:

"I am writing this to you because you lost a son in World War II. The so-called "Berlin crisis" has brought into focus things I have observed for a long time. For many years I was in the patent department of a company whose main competitor was du Pont and it was our job to learn all there was to learn about the international chemical cartel whose three major members are du Pont, I.C.I. and I.G. Farben.

"My company loaned me to the War Dept. for civil censorship work in Germany immediately after World War II and I worked first in Frankfurt and then in Bremen, the U.S. debarkation area in the British Zone. I saw with my own eyes how du Pont and I.G. Farben had worked together during the war. Frankfurt's most precious historical monument was destroyed but the huge administration building of I.G. Farben in Frankfurt was untouched. I saw American army officers (not the combat officers, but their replacements) working hand in glove with the Nazis. (The British were even worse.)

"The various Nazi 'fronts' in the United States were suppressed or just faded out during the war, but now they are being revived all over this country. The John Birch Society is merely the worst. I believe there now exists an American Nazi Party and I have read of overtly Nazi demonstrations during various riots and troubles here.

"It is undeniable that the government of West Germany is almost wholly composed of men who are Nazis, who served in high positions under the Hitler regime. In spite of all these ill omens I never expected to see the President of the United States taking orders from **Nazi** Germany! That is exactly what he is doing. It means that Nazi Germany won World War II, has taken over the United States and your son died in vain. The Berlin 'crisis' is like a flash of lightning revealing who our real rulers are, and, to me, the sight is horrifying beyond words."

Margaret A. Fellows

Peace conference

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The cranes are flying for peace over America from Alaska to Mexico. The response to our appeal to help the Provisional Committee for Cooperation with the Japan Council Against the A & H Bombs (No More Hiroshimas) send delegates to the 7th World Conference in Japan was splendid; we wish we could write to thank each and every one personally for their cooperation.

We urge all lovers of peace to begin immediately to work for a great delegation to attend the 8th World Peace Conference in Japan, Aug. 6, 1962.

Jeanette S. Turner
Executive Secretary

Love letter, plus

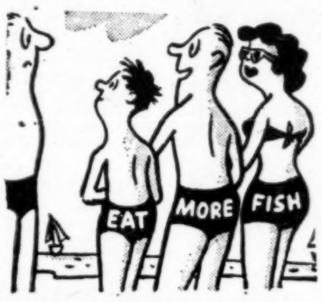
CHICAGO, ILL.

This is my first love letter to a newspaper. Unfortunately I must also write my first unsigned letter. Perhaps it is also an unmistakable sign of "these times" and my deplorable lack of courage.

I have read your newspaper since its inception and through these years when it has consistently remained a voice of sanity and good will. I don't think it matters very much how much I have agreed or disagreed with it—but I have trusted it. In a period of constant compromises and uneasy dishonesties, it has remained enormously instructive and consistently human.

I am enclosing $50 to help things a bit. My deepest affection and gratitude to all of you.

Anon.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"If it wasn't for the advertising I don't think we could afford a holiday."

Revolt of the individual

LONDON, ENGLAND

Whatever objections one may voice, (and plenty of people have something against any method used in any social action) it cannot be denied that the primary purpose of the Committee of 100 to get the danger of nuclear war onto the front pages of mind, heart and mass communication was achieved on Sept. 17 in Trafalgar Square (GUARDIAN, Oct. 2). And not only in England.

All over London Sept. 18 people were discussing Trafalgar Square, in shops and offices, the movie house and the garage. The girl at the dairy took a shilling off the cake because the buyer said she might be in jail all next week; the girl at the grocer's said proudly, "I was down there."

As one who was active working for support for migratory workers on strike in the '30s in California, in support of FDR and in anti-Nazi activity from 1933 in the U.S., I should like to say how different the entire CND campaign seems, and especially how different the attitudes of those participating, sitting down or supporting the sitdowners. The British make it a matter of individual conscience, the individual duty, rather than how to organize mass action.

This comes out in the contrast in "smear words." In America protestors were tarred red or communist but here the worst jeer is expressed by "crank," "beardie," "weirdie," "illogical," "wild' or "What do they think they will achieve?" I haven't seen or heard "Moscow-controlled" or "Moscow gold," 'red' or conspirator,' not once.

Isn't this truly the revolt of the individual against Organization Man and isn't it—if we survive—possibly one of the great steps of progress in our modern world? **Ella Winter**

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities last week ended a seven-day road show in Los Angeles, went home with nothing new except some previously unsmeared names. These were supplied by a committee gold mine—screenwriter Martin Berkeley, who, out of a remarkable memory, named 152 persons he said had been his fellow-Communists. Fate of the newly named was forecast by committee chairman John Wood: "If by any chance we can remove from the field of entertainment, especially from the view of youth, those who refuse to answer questions regarding their Communist activities, it would please me very much."

A score of witnesses refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions. The So. California Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions picketed the proceedings, held a protest rally (1,000 came) in Embassy Auditorium. The un-AAC was denounced by director A. A. Heist of the local American Civil Liberties Union. He said there was "nothing so un-American as the committee's own activities . . . There can be no compromise with the conclusion that the committee should be abolished."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 10, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

A smear by HUAC

(Continued from Page 1)

Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) opened with a discursive statement disclosing that the committee had authorized itself to investigate the National Assembly and activities leading up to it by special resolution Sept. 22, the day before the Assembly opened. The resolution said it would inquire into "conspiratorial techniques and propaganda used in promoting the objectives of the Communist Party, with special reference to the utilization of organizations under concealed control of the Communist Party, in opposition to laws enacted by Congress which are designed to strengthen and protect the security of the U.S."

Walter said he wanted to "emphasize and make it crystal clear" that HUAC defends the First Amendment rights of all citizens except that where the CP is concerned the committee is dealing with actions "which, the Supreme Court has held, are not protected—in the sense that they are subject to investigation and certain disclosure procedures."

Having thus jumped the gun on the McCarran Act, which is inoperative while still before the Supreme Court, Walter made it obvious that it is HUAC's intention to tar and feather all opposition to the McCarran Act as being under concealed control of the CP.

THE FIRST WITNESS Oct. 2 was HUAC's research director, Frank J. McNamara, who sounded more like Charley McCarthy in a dialogue with committee counsel Albert M. Nittle on so-called CP "upside-down talk." Through McNamara, Nittle agreed with Nittle that in this kind of language peace means world communism victorious, and democratic rights mean freedom for Communists to subvert and destroy the American way of life. McNamara reported uncovering the fact that the CP would refuse to obey the McCarran Act and would seek to prevent its enforcement—a position the CP announced publicly when the act was affirmed last June.

A new wrinkle in HUAC witnesses followed McNamara, a young Princeton senior named David Duval of the Princeton Conservative Club. Inspired by a speech by Walter printed in the Congressional Record, he said, he attended not only the National Assembly Sept. 23 and 24 but also an Emergency Civil Liberties Committee meeting Sept. 22 at Carnegie Hall, New York, in support of blacklisted Hollywood writers and producers. The ECLC meeting had been mentioned in the call to the Assembly, but had no connection with it. In any case, HUAC's fledgling volunteer attended everything, took copious notes full of gaps which the HUAC counsel filled in with corrected details, reading from the NATIONAL GUARDIAN account of the two-day Assembly.

AS VARIOUS SPEAKERS and participants were thus named for the record, the HUAC counsel took time out to smear each one from past testimony of stool pigeons and paid government informers such as Louis Budenz, Benjamin Gitlow, John Lautner, Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley.

Prior to the hearings the American Civil Liberties Union offered to represent any subpenaed witness, with the result that a battery of ACLU lawyers was on hand as the hearings began. They included Lawrence Speiser, ACLU Washington representative; Sidney Dickstein, David Shapiro and Gerhard Van Arkel. Other witnesses were to be represented by Joseph Forer and David Rein of Washington and Stanley Faulkner of New York, counsel for the National Committee to Abolish HUAC. The ECLC published a quarter-page ad in the Washington **Post** the day the hearings opened and ECLC vice-chairman Corliss Lamont issued a statement that staging the hearings on the opening of the Supreme Court was "no coincidence."

"By thus tipping the scales in the market place of ideas," Lamont said, "a government body is corrupting our democracy and undermining our Constitution." Louise Pettibone Smith, emeritus professor of Biblical history at Wellesley and an initiating sponsor, termed the hearings "unnecessary and un-American."

WITNESSES STILL TO BE HEARD after the first day included men and women from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Minnesota in addition to New York; and this writer, general manager of the GUARDIAN, and Louis Weinstock, former business manager of the **Worker**, in connection with ads run in both papers in behalf of the Assembly and its organizing groups.

Unaccountably caught in the HUAC dragnet was a young man from Wisconsin who had neither attended nor helped organize the Assembly. He had, he conceded, once taken part in anti-HUAC activities; he suspected a police spy of his acquaintance of giving the committee a wrong steer.

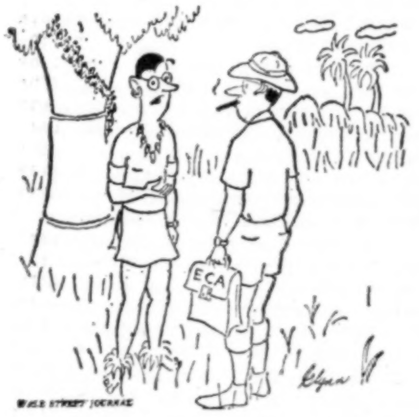
HOW A VOLUNTEER GOT BOUNCED

The Peace Corps trainee with an un-American laugh

By Lawrence Emery

FOR A TIME the fate of legislation making the Peace Corps a permanent agency seemed to hinge on the case of Charles Kamen, a trainee accused of having laughed and applauded "at the wrong times" during a showing of the House Un-American Activities Committee's movie, "Operation Abolition," at a Rotary Club in Miami.

During Congressional hearings, Corps Director R. Sargent Shriver resisted demands for Kamen's immediate dismissal and insisted his final status would be determined solely on the basis of his record during the training period. What, if anything, went on backstage on this issue will probably never be known. But on Sept. 25, three days after the Peace Corps bill had been safely signed into law by President Kennedy, Kamen was dismissed.



Glynn in the Wall Street Journal

"In short, Ned, I tried to sell them our way of life and they sold me theirs."

The reasons for his dismissal were not given. A Corps spokesman said merely that his application had been rejected "because he had failed to meet the standards required in the project for which he had applied."

FINE RECORD: Kamen, 21, had an excellent record as a student at Brandeis University at Waltham, Mass., from which he was graduated last June after majoring in sociology and anthropology. He was a National Merit Scholarship winner, was president of the Student Council at Brandeis, and was highly recommended for Peace Corps training by four Brandeis faculty members, three Miami businessmen, and a rabbi. He has traveled in Europe, Japan and Israel and speaks Hebrew. On campus he was a member of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Emergency Public Integration Committee. He scored high marks on his Peace Corp entrance tests.

At the time of Kamen's brush with the Miami Rotarians last Dec. 29 there was no publicity about the incident and it was largely forgotten. But when Kamen was accepted for Peace Corps training in July for a Philippine teaching project, his picture appeared in a Miami paper. A sharp-eyed Rotarian recognized him and sounded the alarm. Miami Rotarians flooded their congressmen with protests. The John Birchers took up the cry. In Coral Gables an Anti-Kamen Club was organized. A petition was circulated in Miami calling upon the Dade County Board of Education to fire Kamen's mother, who is a school teacher there. She herself received threatening anti-Semitic phone calls.

HUE AND CRY: By early August Kamen had become a Congressional issue. Rep. H. R. Gross (R-Ia.) told Shriver: "I would think when you have some character like this Kamen, who tries to walk into a Rotary Club meeting and break it up, that would be enough to disqualify him." Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.) suggested that Kamen be dropped as a "political liability." Sens. Frank J. Lausche (D-Ohio) and Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) criticized Shriver for refusing to dismiss Kamen immediately. The pressure was enough to cause President Kennedy to make a public appeal for passage of the Peace Corps bill.

On Aug. 23 the Washington **Post** joined the battle with an editorial which said: "If publicly stated distaste for a flagrantly distorted movie should constitute of itself disqualification for membership in the Peace Corps, there would plainly be something radically wrong with the Corps' selection standards."

Kamen issued a statement in which he said his conduct at the Rotary Club "may not have been courteous or prudent," but the pressure continued.

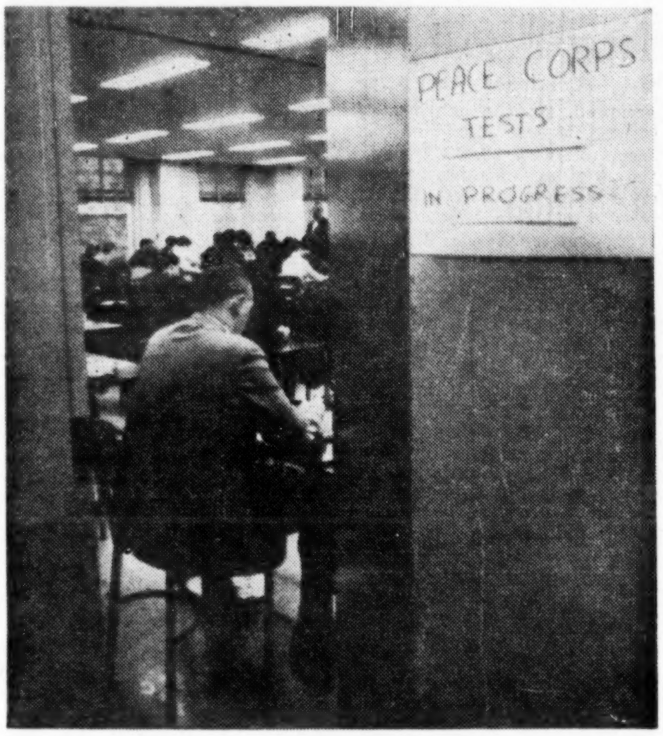
NO DEFERMENT: On Aug. 25 Kamen's Miami draft board refused him a requested deferment, usually granted to Peace Corps volunteers. The board said Kamen should **learn** Americanism rather than teach it as a Peace Corpsman, and that he should be taught Americanism in the armed services.

(In that same week another Miami draft board apologized for mistakenly refusing deferment to another Peace Corps trainee, Thomas W. Sharpless, and promised to reverse the action. The board chairman said: "If we had known that he was [a Peace Corps candidate], we would never, never had done this. I am paying for a telegram out of my own pocket to tell Sharpless not to appear here for an appeal. I've called a special meeting of the board . . . and we will then officially grant him a deferment. I'm sorry that this happened.")

In Madison, Wis., the Natl. Student Assn. convention considered a resolution calling for censure of Kamen's draft board. It said the board's action was ill advised and vindictive and a political employment of the power to draft. It added that if the action were not reversed, it would be tantamount to Kamen's expulsion from the Peace Corps.

KENNEDY'S WORDS: On Aug. 28 President Kennedy held a brief reception for 74 Corpsmen bound for Ghana and Tanganyika; it was the first group to go overseas. He told them: "If you can impress them with your commitment to freedom, to the advancement of the interests of people everywhere, to your pride in your country and its best traditions and what it stands for, the influence may be far-reaching."

By late August the Peace Corps had received so much mail on the Kamen case that Nicholas Hobbs, director of selection, had prepared a mimeographed letter explaining the Corps' selection procedures: "The letters that we have received about this incident call for the dismissal of Mr. Kamen on the grounds that he is either emotionally unstable or a communist. Both of these are very grave charges. A third interpretation is possible: that he is a young man of good character who made an error which has been highly publicized and for which he has publicly apologized. I feel that it is our obligation to find out which of these is true about Mr. Kamen."



This is a monitor's view of entrance examinations for Peace Corps volunteers in New York. The tests last 5½ hours, probe intelligence, language ability, history knowledge, job competence, etc.; but more depends on the candidate's opinion of HUAC.

FURTHER TESTING: On procedures, the letter said: "Mr. Kamen will undergo further psychological testing, a psychiatric interview, interviews by faculty members, and will receive ratings on performance in academic work and in teaching. He—like every volunteer in training—will also be the subject of a full field check by the FBI. In addition, he will be under the supervision, as will every volunteer, of the Peace Corps training staff during the intensive training program which runs 60 hours each week. On the basis of all the evidence, and not a fragment of it, a final selection board will determine whether or not Mr. Kamen can bear the responsibility of representing his country in the Peace Corps. . . . If an orderly inquiry reveals that Mr. Kamen is lacking either in emotional maturity or in loyalty to his country, he will certainly not be assigned to overseas service."

Following his dismissal, Kamen was quoted as saying he was "disappointed and hurt" but "not bitter." He said that he would not appeal the draft board's decision and that he was going to tell his lawyer "to drop the whole thing." He planned to enroll in the graduate school of the University of Chicago.

'NO POLITICS': Meanwhile an unidentified Peace Corps spokesman in Washington was quoted as denying that politics had anything to do with Kamen's dismissal. "Maybe no one will believe us, but it's not true. Kamen simply wasn't what we needed." The spokesman added: "Kamen was a big, open guy, the kind you notice in a crowd. He was a fast and frequent talker. During training, he was the first to ask a question or make a comment. I think the board of selection decided that he would not be an appropriate person among quiet, timid people like the Filipinos."

The New York **Post** on Sept. 27 said editorially: "The Peace Corps has an advisory board composed of representative, responsible citizens. We believe Peace Corps Director Shriver should cut through all bureaucratic protocol, submit the Kamen case to that board and ask for a full inquiry and a public report. Nothing less can still the doubts that have arisen."

The Peace Corps has now set its goal at having 2,700 in training or overseas by June 30, 1962. As of Aug. 9, the Corps had received 12,196 applications; of these, 7,461 had taken entrance tests. Nine projects had been announced (Tanganyika, Colombia, Chile, Ghana, the Philippines, St. Lucia, Nigeria, India, East Pakistan) and trainees were studying at seven colleges and universities in this country and at a jungle training camp in Puerto Rico. A new round of nation-wide entrance examinations for overseas volunteers will be held on Oct. 7.

The good old days

IN MORE WAYS than one, a visit to the Marienfelde refugee center in West Berlin has sometimes been a chilling experience.

For example, a reporter talked recently with a family that had torn itself away from an ancestral farm in Saxony. The father of the family, a sturdy man in his fifties, wept as he described the farm, its cherished woodlands and the rich acres which his forbears had worked for centuries.

His wife interrupted to explain that life had recently been getting harder year by year. Under communism, it had become practically impossible to find farm hands any longer. "At least during the war we had the Ost-Arbeiter," she said. She was referring to the Polish and Russian slave laborers supplied to German farms by the Nazi government.

—Milwaukee **Journal**, Aug. 27

KUMAR GOSHAL

just back after a ten-week tour of Africa and the Middle East, will give

A REPORT ON AFRICA

NEW YORK—Oct. 11, 8 P.M.
Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St.

CHICAGO—
Southside—Fri., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m, 4745 So. Kimbark Av.
Northside—Sat., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 930 Maple Av., Evanston

MILWAUKEE—Mon., Oct. 30 (Watch for place)

MINNEAPOLIS—Tues., Oct. 31 7:30 P.M. Andrews Hotel, 4th St. and Hennepin Ave. GUARDIAN 13th Anniv. Party 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—Fri., Nov. 3 ILWU HALL

LOS ANGELES—Fri., Nov 10, Institute of Aerospace Sciences, 7660 Beverly Blvd. at Stanley. Refreshments Adm. $1

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

Can you use a bundle of Guardians for distribution? Write us!

Disarmament

(Continued from Page 1)

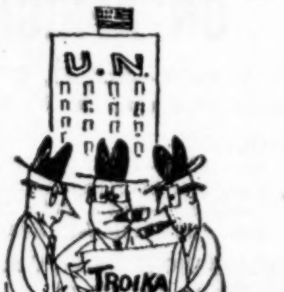
accepted. At the previous UN session French disarmament negotiator Jules Moch on Oct. 22, 1959, had called for "elimination" of nuclear weapons delivery systems in the first stage of any plan, instead of mere "declarations." At the 1960 conference the West's first stage bore essentially nothing but declarations, while the Soviet plan had been rewritten according to the Moch proposal.

This was the third basic alteration of the Soviet plan. Originally the first of the three stages had involved nuclear weapons destruction; then, as a result of Western protests that this would create a military advantage for the U.S.S.R., a dominant land power, the Russians put conventional arms and forces first, nuclear weapons—in which the West excelled—last. Finally, the Moch proposal was adopted for the first stage, at which point Moch suddenly switched from discussing "elimination" to mere "control" (surveillance) of delivery systems.

THE BIG QUESTION: Thus the pivotal question about the new Kennedy Administration "outline" of a plan, as it is called, is whether it represents a clean break with this deceptive pseudo-disarmament past. What can be said at this juncture is that the Sept. 25 document in its initial form falls far short of Soviet standards.

The new outline marks a distinct American advance in that for the first time some arms reduction is called for in Stage One, the key part of any disarmament schedule. "Agreed initial quantities" of weapons in all categories, including delivery systems, would be transferred to I.D.O. (International Disarmament Organization) depots and when it is agreed, during Stage One, that the prescribed amounts have all been sequestered, they would be destroyed. Production of conventional arms would be limited and production of fissionable materials for weapons stopped, but there would be no other Stage One dismantling. And since these reductions would presumably be keyed to relatively small reductions in armed forces, (a limit of 2,100,000 for the U.S. and U.S.S.R.), they would be considerably less than substantial. Indeed the plan reserves the adjective "substantial" for Stage Two.

The control for this relatively moderate degree of disarming in the first stage would involve I.D.O. supervision not only of the disarming process, as in the Soviet plan, but of everything—all arms and armed forces—on the theory that what remains must also be inspected to insure that agreed-upon levels are not "secretly" exceeded. This is the old inspection mania—obsessive in that once widespread I.D.O. apparatus is set up in a country to verify arms reduction, it is scarcely conceivable that a military buildup could take place without discovery.



Dyad in the London Daily Worker

"Good idea, Bud—one Democrat, one Republican—and a Big Business neutral."

FLAT REJECTION: But the trouble with this requirement is that it involves a degree of inspection out of all proportion to the amount of disarmament taking place. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's reaction was to reject this aspect of the American outline out-of-hand. In his policy address to the UN on Sept. 26 he demanded that the U.S. limit inspection in the first stage to the measures of disarmament being undertaken.

Gromyko told the UN "it [the inspection plan] would only result in a potential aggressor obtaining that very information of the armed forces and armaments of states in which he is interested. This could indeed serve the purposes of aggression, in other words, purposes which are the direct opposite of those that are pursued by disarmament."

The Soviet Union considers the shielding of precise knowledge of its military a big factor in deterrence of attack, and does not wish to yield on this point without disarmament that would lessen the risk.

Gromyko's statement gave the appearance of directly contradicting a pledge made by Premier Khrushchev to the Western powers last year and often repeated since. Khrushchev declared the Soviet Union would "unconditionally" accept "any" Western control plan for a disarmament schedule the Russians found acceptable. Since the Gromyko rejection of the U.S. control proposal tended to close the door on negotiations, while the Khrushchev declaration would keep the door open, the Foreign Minister's tactic was viewed critically by some of those long familiar with Soviet disarmament policy.

KHRUSHCHEV PLEDGE: Under the terms of the Khrushchev pledge, the Soviet objection is not to the magnitude of inspection called for, as Gromyko implied, but to the paucity of appreciable disarmament measures involved. Khrushchev's offer says that under conditions of real disarming there is no limit on verification measures, and he made no exception for Stage One. Thus it is felt that Gromyko's tactic should be to persuade the Americans to accept substantial first-stage disarming instead of denouncing the inspection proposal, and thus giving the illusion of reneging on the Khrushchev pledge. The imperative need, it is pointed out, is to keep the Americans moving forward, and not to play into the hands of the West's still powerful anti-disarmers.

SOVIET OFFER: The Soviet plan itself demonstrates the different meaning of Soviet policy from that Gromyko appears to give it in his statement. The plan's first stage contains a provision that would accomplish much the same thing the U.S. seeks. It provides: "The control organization will have unhindered access to documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of states for military purposes, including all relevant decisions of legislative and executive bodies of states."

This amounts to a complete census of arms and armed forces and a continuing means of verifying that existing levels are being observed. The Russians can make such a proposal in their plan while rejecting a similar one by the U.S. precisely because their first stage would remove most of the military risk. Besides reducing force levels to 1,700,000, with a proportionate cut in conventional arms, it calls for destruction of all nuclear weapons delivery systems (the weapons themselves would go in Stage Two), the elimination of foreign bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops to within national borders. These steps would wipe out the instruments of aggression, removing the major fears voiced by both East and West. All this would be fully supervised by the I.D.O.

Shortly before presenting its disarmament outline, the U.S. distributed to UN delegates a 14-page memorandum on a number of conflicting U.S.-Soviet views on disarmament procedures. This document is replete with the reservations, vacillations and insistence on measures of arms control—as distinct from control over disarming—familiar from the past. President Kennedy and his disarmament adviser, John J. McCloy, have continued to talk of disarmament as an "ultimate" goal, frequently affording the impression that while giving lip service to the world-wide demand for a "practical solution of the disarmament problem," their policy envisions only limited advances toward the goal.

NO OTHER WAY: The continuing question about the basic American attitude toward disarmament thus remains, rooted in a problem suggested by Kenneth Boulding, University of Michigan professor. Disarmament, he wrote, "is the beginning of a great revolution in human affairs . . . a process of evolution of social institutions which leads to the abolition of war and the establishment of the institutions of permanent peace. . . .

"We have dreamed of Utopia, and secretly been thankful that it is only a dream. Now we are going to be compelled to think about it, and think hard and long, for we may be forced into it by the absence of any alternative but doomsday."

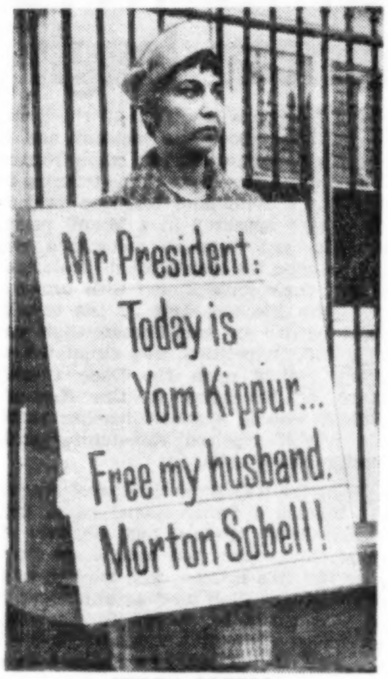
Plea for Sobell is rebuffed

Morton Sobell has been in prison since August, 1950, that is, since he was kidnapped from Mexico by FBI agents and held for trial with the Rosenbergs in 1951 for conspiracy to commit espionage. He has proclaimed his innocence and his wife Helen, his mother Rose and untold thousands of Americans have fought unceasingly for legal justice for him, and for executive clemency to terminate his 30-year sentence. In prison he has developed a gallstone condition which may require surgery. He has been trying to follow a corrective diet, but without cooperation of Atlanta Penitentiary authorities. Ted Jacobs, director of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, notified members of the Committee by letter about the rejection the most recent appeal for clemency. The letter follows in part:

WITH DISILLUSIONMENT and anger, we report that the Kennedy Administration, acting through its Justice Department, has refused clemency to Morton Sobell. The months of assurances from the White House that a fresh study of the case was being made have culminated in a cold, unyielding letter from Deptuy Attorney General Byron White adhering to the past position that clemency would be considered only if parole were denied. The furthest possible parole eligibility date is reiterated (Aug. 1, 1962), and there is nothing to indicate that parole would even then be considered favorably.

Immediate phone conversations with people in the White House failed to establish whether or not President Kennedy participated in the decision. But unless it is shown to be otherwise, we must assume that this is the Administration's callous answer to the poignant appeals for a symbolic act of humanity and justice.

At the same time the Justice Department was condemning Morton to still further suffering, President Kennedy was announcing the promotion of trial judge Irving Kaufman to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Kaufman's chief claim to fame is his death sentence of the Rosenbergs, a cruel act of hysteria that shamed us before the world. He is rewarded. Morton Sobell, an innocent man Kaufman condemned to an outrageous 30-year sentence, is condemned to further torment.


Mr. President:
Today is
Yom Kippur...
Free my husband.
Morton Sobell!

HELEN SOBELL
At the White House

WHEN THE NEWS of the latest setback came, Helen Sobell, Morton's wife, was sitting in the office of attorney Marshall Perlin. She said: "They're killing my husband slowly, but just as surely as if it were done at once." In those words were the accumulation of years of torment. But then immediately she wrote to President Kennedy:

"If it is indeed your decision, Mr. President, which has answered the appeals of so many eminent Americans, and of our family, by denying to us the chance of life, let us hear it from you. Even then I shall exercise my right to do all in my power to raise up every voice which will speak for decency and bring it clamoring to your door to change your decision."

FRIENDS, we know and share your weariness from our long efforts which we hoped would be ending. Yet we know all of us committed to justice in this case can only react in one unified way—rebound with a completely overhauled public drive geared to the new situation. Together we have moved mountains to bring the vast support that exists. We will move bigger mountains to tear open this case in the glaring light of public opinion so that public officials will have no choice but to release Morton Sobell.

With speedy action essential, we declare:

1. There must be an entirely new type of effort. To plan this jointly, we are calling Sobell Committee representatives to an Emergency National Sobell Committee Meeting for the weekend of Oct. 14 and 15, in New York City. Preliminary ideas are being sent all committees for local discussion.

2. Our attorneys, the firm of Donner, Perlin and Piel, will be in court within a few weeks with a battery of new motions prepared for this eventuality. The attorneys are also acting to guarantee Morton adequate diet and medical care in the face of a possible need for gall bladder surgery.

3. At once, you should call important persons in your city who have appealed previously, and ask them to write rejecting the deputy Attorney General's letter as the President's final answer.

4. We urgently need funds to take care of all that must be done immediately.

In conclusion, we do not minimize the severity of the blow from Washington. We do not fool ourselves about the enormity of what must be accomplished. Nor do we have the answers for all that we must do.

We do know with all our strength, that the Sobell case cannot be buried with a "no" from Washington, whether the frontier be new or old.

Ted Jacobs
For the Sobell Staff

'ULTRAS' TALK OF NEW DEATH PLOT

De Gaulle setting the stage for own overthrow by Right

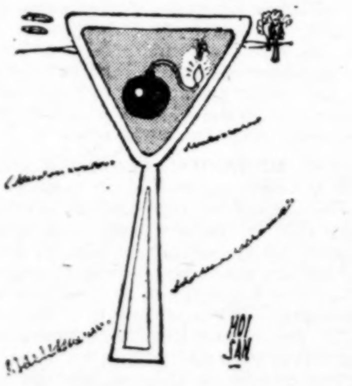
Since this dispatch to the GUARDIAN was written, former French Premier Pierre Mendes-France has issued a warning that France faces civil war. He proposed a transitional regime to make peace in Algeria and draft a new French constitution. This story explains the background of the crisis threatening France.

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE SEPT. 8 ATTEMPT on the life of President Charles de Gaulle did not come as a surprise. Paris is blasé about daily shootings and plastic bombings, but since midsummer, it had buzzed with rumors of another OAS (Organisation Armée Secréte) plot. Guessers bet on whether or not it would come off on the mid-August traditional long week-end holiday. The threat was considered so real that the government took special police measures for mid-August. But despite the forewarning, preparations for the killing went on uninterrupted. Why?

An early major factor was the courtesy of de Gaulle himself and the government's stupendous leniency toward the plotting generals in the 1960 and 1961 Algeria uprisings. The OAS rose from its ashes almost immediately after the April, 1961, putsch was lost. Early in May, a tract to French draftees stationed in Algeria, warning them not to "behave like occupational soldiers . . . or else!", was signed OAS. Between May and August, the OAS had time to reorganize arms stocks and recruit new members. In Algerian towns it has won over the European population as a whole. (An unidentified Algiers resident reported to the Paris **Express** recently that the OAS forced him to pay membership fees.)



Canard Enchaine, Paris
New traffic sign

The plot leaders were able to go underground in a thousand different points, and stay as long as necessary. The police shut both eyes in Algeria, and did little in France. Between May and August, the OAS was blamed for 1,311 plastic bombings. No figures are available on arrests of OAS suspects, but before the Sept. 8 attempt on de Gaulle's life, not more than a few dozen figureheads had been seized.

VARIED ELEMENTS: Who makes up the OAS? The Army is not the only element. Those arrested included a few Fascist journalists, some members of the prewar "Cagoule" (second cousin to America's Ku Klux Klan); and a couple of extreme rightist Poujadists. But also in prison for OAS activities are the administrative secretary of the highly respected Institut de France; the former private secretary of de Gaulle's brother, Pierre, now an executive for a French oil trust; a professor of history at the Paris University Institute for Political Studies, and the president of an Algerian phosphate mine company that plays a key role in the Constantin plan, de Gaulle's industrialization project for Algeria. These arrests open new perspectives as to OAS sympathies in intellectual and business circles. But the basic power of the OAS remains the Army.

The Army that helped de Gaulle to power on an over-all "Algérie Francaise" slogan has been severely shaken by each of his gradual steps away from that position. During the January, 1960, barricades week in Algeria, Gen. Maurice Challe, picked by the colonels as head of a provisional government, was still loyal to Paris and turned the offer down. Fifteen months later, he was heading the generals' putsch. And before the Paris Military Court this spring, ex-Gen. Challe declared: "Those who have flatly refused to follow me [during the putsch], you can count on the fingers of one hand."

CHARLES DE GAULLE
His prestige is fading

ARMY UNITED: Today, according to Jules Roy, Algerian-born liberal, writer and former air force officer, the Army stands united behind these goals of the generals' putsch: (1) We must keep Algeria for France; and (2) We can and must win the war militarily. "Already the Army," Roy wrote in the **Express**, "no longer obeys but to the extreme limits of indiscipline. The Army has no leaders but those who live behind the prison bars, or who have gone underground."

The French were almost indifferent to the news of the attempt on de Gaulle's life. In the last three years, the general's prestige has dropped almost vertically. Some of the political parties that had backed de Gaulle's return to power in 1958—from the Socialist Party and the pro-Catholic MRP all the way to the near-ultra Independents—have begun to draw back.

YIELDING POWERS: Will the plot against de Gaulle's life turn the tide and win back his old adherents? It did not deter the parliamentary offensive against prolongation of de Gaulle's emergency powers, invoked last April to put down the Algiers revolt. On Sept. 21 de Gaulle, yielding to the pressure, announced that he would give up the special powers. And in another move to bolster the regime, the cabinet set a price for milk that met the demand of farm organizations. The farmers had threatened countrywide demonstrations unless the government helped them.

Dissatisfaction with de Gaulle is being expressed in many sectors. The conservative **Figaro**, long his backer, now speaks of de Gaulle's "dangerous disdain of Republican institutions" and "certain flagrant failures of his politics." But few Parisians believe de Gaulle will ever wage all-out war against the OAS and other pro-Fascist organizations. OAS partisans in Algeria openly talk about their next attempt to kill de Gaulle, which, they say, will be successful.

Castro nails an old canard--the one about nationalizing babies

Special to the Guardian

HAVANA

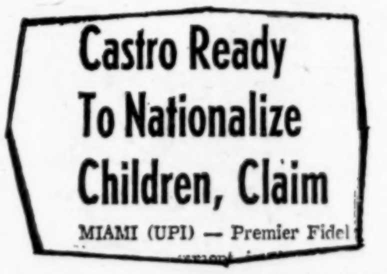
THE ANTI-CASTRO hand of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the CIA was seen at work in a crude forgery recently circulated around Cuba — purportedly a "law" transferring to the Revolutionary Government the parental authority over children up to the age of 20. In leaflets headed "exact copy of the original" and "signed" by President Dorticos and Premier Fidel Castro, the "text" of the "law" passed from hand to hand and caused alarm among the more gullible. The government's intention to "take children from their parents" has long been one of the counterrevolution's favorite rumors, though previously it has been linked to the one that "the children will be sent to Russia."

According to the "law," all Cuban children were to be taken over by kindergartens at the age of 3, and until they were 10 would be allowed two days a month at home "so as not to lose contact with the family." After that they would be "assigned" to the sport and recreation organization INDER. The "law" supposedly decreed a census of Cuban children, barred them from leaving the country, prohibited all religious instruction and provided penalties of 2 to 15 year's imprisonment for infractions.

Castro read the complete "law" at a nationally televised mass meeting. Recalling that there had in fact been a proposal (promptly squelched) for a children's census to determine where kindergartens were most needed, Castro publicly chided the official who made the suggestion (since it was a potential rumor source). The Premier explained the purposes of the kindergartens and the conditions facing Cuba's children before and since the revolution. Previously the children of working mothers either roamed the streets or had to be placed in charity institutions; the Revolution was swiftly providing places where mothers could voluntarily leave the children during the day under skilled supervision.

Castro referred especially to the daughters of peasant families who previously flocked to the city and became $30-a-month domestic slaves or prostitutes. "Not one, not ten imperialisms will bring our country back to that odious past," said Castro.

In face of the new provocation, he promised "a hard battle" against "reactionary clergy," but he declared "once again that the Revolution has never harbored anti-religious sentiments toward any creed. This applies to all believers and missionaries of any religion that respects the laws of the country and is not traitorously serving imperialism."



Castro Ready To Nationalize Children, Claim

MIAMI (UPI) — Premier Fidel

Bellingham (Wash.) Herald

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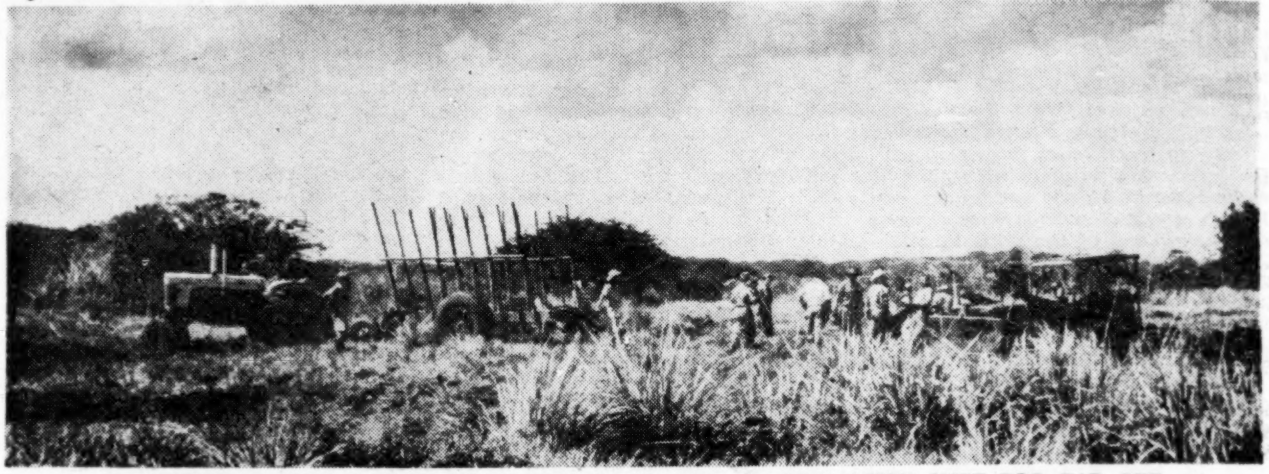
A 'PRODUCTION CONGRESS' FINDS GAINS, FAULTS—AND NO HUNGER

Cuba candidly assesses her progress to socialism

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA



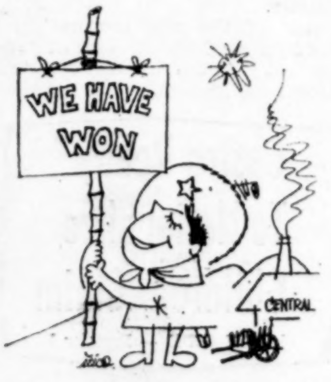
MANPOWER IS STILL A PROBLEM IN HARVESTING, BUT MECHANIZATION ISN'T TOO FAR OFF
This Cienfuegos ricefield could use the men serving in the army to guard against invasions

WITH A CANDOR as dramatic as it was impressive, Cuba publicly reviewed every aspect of its changing economy in a weekend "production congress" earlier this month. Delegates from all industrial and agricultural enterprises participated with government leaders, economists and planners in assessing failures and successes of the struggle to convert colonialist anarchy and privation into socialist sanity and plenty, and in a sharp but comradely crossfire of criticism and self-criticism.

For the New York **Times** the congress indicated "crisis," "hunger" and an impending "purge"; Cubans, watching on TV or reading reports in their press, joined in the delegates' hilarity at Premier Fidel Castro's reading of the **Times** story.

Leaving the nation with a full understanding of where the battle now stands, the congress spread new determination and confidence that Cuba will by 1965 have built the solid foundations of abundance. The balance sheet for the first half of 1961 is that over-all production is up substantially compared with the first half of 1960, but that the planners were too optimistic about levels achievable in this stormy year of imperialist invasion. For example, they estimated a 23% higher output of shoes than has been achieved, although production is up 57% over the first half of 1960. On the other hand production of cigarettes has exceeded the plan.

FULL DATA ASKED: The congress was an expression of faith in an informed people. In every enterprise, Castro said, every worker should know what is being done, what its assets and problems are and how it fits into the national scheme. Castro called himself "one of those most to blame for the lack of attention to planning" up to now. Minister of Industry Guevara, condemning tendencies to "ascribe all our troubles to imperialism," called for "correcting our own errors by publicly discussing them" and launched a barrage of criticism of the various ministries, starting with his own.



Bohemia, Havana

The last sugar cane of the harvest

The tremendous problems created by transformation of the U.S. from a "paternal" tyrant into an aggressor emerged in one report after another. The cutting off of the U.S. supply source just as mass purchasing power is rapidly rising has brought food shortages—which emergency supplies from socialist countries have kept from becoming serious. The congress set dates for liquidation of the main shortages: Root vegetables, January, 1962; chicken, February, 1962; fish, June, 1962; fats (now rationed), January, 1962.

Formerly self-sufficient in almost nothing, and getting 73.5% of its imports from the U.S., Cuba plans by 1965 to have invested $800 million in 100 factories, including a big steel plant. By the end of 1962 small new plants will be producing acetates, plastics, fodders, fibers, antibiotics and a dozen other necessities. For transport Cuba will receive soon a 10,000-ton East German merchant ship (present fleet, 21) and by 1964 an operating shipyard from Poland; 10,000 more trucks and jeeps in addition to 10,000 already bought from socialist countries; 10 Soviet planes for internal flights (present fleet, 2 international, 4 national, 2 cargo); and during 1962, 850 more Soviet and Czech buses. Problems frankly raised at the congress included the desertion of Cuban ships' officers, aviation technicians and pilots, and urgent need for more technical schools.

OLD CUSTOM: Criticism was aimed mainly at administrative bureaucracy and the old Cuban custom of individuals' and enterprises' acting "por la libre" (on one's own)—a habit officially declared anathema by Castro, since it was "the exact opposite of planning." Guevara found his own Ministry guilty of "an overdose of bureaucracy" and a lack of "vision, coordination and contact with the masses." He chastized the Armed Forces Ministry for wasting food and for depriving industry of key men and equipment for overlong militia service. He pointed to External Trade Ministry blunders in estimating needs and setting up of priorities and to Internal Trade's "over-optimism about its own capacity to take existing distribution machinery and completely make it over." Public Works was charged with "chronic slowness" and giving priority to parks over factories; INRA with failure to plan enough henequen production for exports; Fisheries with slowness and muddle in installing ice plants.

Targets of Guevara's barbs were the failure to appreciate the importance of statistics and the persistent notion that "quality of production, including packaging, is a capitalist vice." He called Cuban matches "one of our Ministry's biggest disgraces. Hardly a person doesn't agree with us whenever he strikes one." Guevara also chided enterprises for "too much democracy" in making decisions—too many meetings and not enough delegation of authority.

SOME SUBSTITUTES: Cuba's imperative need for a "do-it-yourself" approach was emphasized repeatedly and most of Guevara's praise went to the workers for initiative and imagination in this area. Workers' committees have had remarkable success in dealing with the "continuous crisis" of spare parts, and a campaign has started to "build your own machine—copy those we have if you can't get new." In the area of raw materials formerly U.S.-supplied and now lacking, a "toothpaste crisis" has been licked by discovery of a substitute ingredient. The glass shortage (which produced temporary famines in milk, soft drinks and beer) is being solved with a Cuban raw material producing yellow-colored bottles. Substitute materials have brought back full production in industries partly idle earlier in the year, such as soap and detergents, and are being sought for production of bottle-tops (cork), dolls (rubber), and paint, for which materials formerly came from the dollar area.

Special problems have resulted from the mystifications of U.S. "free enterprise." Orders for spare parts, formerly made by numbers from U.S. catalogues, but now to be specified exactly for the new suppliers, are a major headache. Under U.S. control, Cuba's sugar mills used 600 "types" of oil, most of them in fact identical with other "brands." The brand-name crazy quilt in the pharmaceutical business still causes confusion, and Guevara charged some doctors and druggists with a counter-revolutionary "conspiracy" to prescribe brand drugs instead of explaining that the same thing can be had under another name. Nationalized Coca-Cola has had no trouble in "penetrating" that popular drink's "secret formula" and purveying it as before to thirsty Cubans.

HARVEST PROBLEM: Manpower to get in the sugar cane remains one of the biggest problems. Mechanization with Soviet technical aid is on the way, but 450,000 men will be required for the next harvest. This year's plan to harvest every cane was not completed due to labor shortage, though the harvest was 16% above 1960's. Another headache is the lack of warehouses, which has caused bad bottlenecks at all ports, especially Havana. Formerly arriving in many small ships, Cuba's imports now come in big freighters from as far as two months' voyage away. Mechanization of Santiago de Cuba's port—a mammoth task necessary for the new industrial center to be created in that area—will take some of the strain off Havana.

After almost two days of critical exchanges at the congress, Vilma Espin of the Cuban Women's Federation raised the question of why so few of her sex were in top administrative positions. Women direct about 30 hairdressers' establishments, but otherwise only one canning plant and one sugar central are headed by women. Admitting Cuba has not yet even tackled the problem of prostitution, Castro gave this answer to Senora Espin: "Because women have been only half liberated."

Hoy, Havana

In connection with Guevara's criticism of the Armed Forces Ministry, Castro pointed out that hundreds of delegates were in uniform and that the country's defenders and producers were in the main the same people. But military leaders must bear in mind that the strongest defense force would have little value "if afterward we had no meat, no fish, nothing to defend," Castro said. In Cuba, he said, all agreed that armed forces were unproductive and deplored that they were still necessary. But "already we have almost forgotten that we had to mobilize three times in less than a year, sometimes for weeks, taking some of our most vital men and equipment away from production." He scolded militiamen and soldiers for their "characteristic destruction of vehicles," due to lack of technical training, and of revolutionary responsibility for state property.

NEW DEMANDS: Castro concentrated on the continuing—though much reduced—favoritism for city dwellers over country folk in the distribution of items in short supply. (Short supplies in Havana today are often largely due to consumption in the country of commodities which formerly were used only in cities.) Commenting on the **New York Times** report of 'hunger" and "purges," Castro said: "The problem in Cuba is not that people are hungry—that was in the old days when three or four hundred thousand people had not a centavo in their pockets. It is precisely that they have work and money that there is an extraordinary rise in their purchasing power. There are some shortages, but there would have been none at all but for the economic and military aggression of the U.S."

Castro stressed the need for technical study and said the first 1,500 trainees in farm and co-op accounting, and the first 1,000 in artifical insemination, would shortly be graduating. In a down-to-earth talk on cows and pigs, he envisioned cattle-raising as a top Cuban industry, with $300 million annual consumption and the same amount in exports. The project under way for 65 million citrus, mango, guava, avocado, lichi and tamarind trees to be in production by 1965 would make Cuba "the tropical fruit producer par excellence," he said.

The main thing, Castro declared, was to learn from publicly aired mistakes. "What would be serious would be to think we know a lot. We begin to know when we understand that we don't know much."

The objective approach

IN THE REAL WORLD a nation must earn the right to influence international affairs. Our country has never tried to exert this influence by brute force, or coercive bullying of smaller lands. If you doubt it look at Cuba. We have only attempted to encourage new nations by free economic and spiritual development.—Jack Manning's column in the Detroit **Free Press, Sept. 24.**

TEXT OF A TALK BY THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR

The press: A study in the art of misinforming

Following is the text of a talk given by the editor of the GUARDIAN over radio station WBAI-FM New York in its Commentary series on Sept. 13. Extra copies of this issue, if you would like to pass this on, are 10 cents each. Address Guardian Circulation Dept., 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

By James Aronson

THE NEWS is supposed to take a holiday in the summertime, but the summer of 1961 will go down as a hot one both for weather **and** news. In the wake of the springtime fiasco on the beaches at Playa Giron in Cuba, there came the aftermath of the invasion and the charges and countercharges. There was Laos, and there was Bizerte, where our French allies spread their culture with bombs and bayonets. There was—and must there always be?—Berlin. And there is, of course, the Bomb.

It has been my lot these last few months to split my personality between editing a weekly newspaper and doing research for a book about the U.S. press. In the process I have had the occasion to examine and compare news coverage perhaps more than I might have otherwise.

For this occasion I have gathered a few of the choice bits with the purposeful intention of demonstrating to you that you are not as informed as you may think you are; that even if you are informed, the information may be false or misleading. Let's start with Cuba.

YOU WILL RECALL—as will the Messrs. Kennedy and Dulles—that 1,200 Cuban invaders were taken prisoner by the Revolutionary Army of Cuba. Then Premier Castro proposed an exchange: $2 million worth of tractors for 1,200 prisoners. After a flurry of editorials in the U.S. press, in which it was stated with quivering indignation that you could not equate a human life with a lumbering mechanism, (there were of course no such pre-invasion editorials), it looked as though the deal would go through. A committee with such prominent persons as Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther was formed. President Kennedy was known to be for the deal. But then, at the last moment, we were given to understand, Premier Castro raised his demands, and the committee said the deal was off.

If this indeed was your understanding—and just about everyone in the country understood it that way—then you're dead wrong. Elmo Roper, the opinion taker, in a remarkably frank article in the **Saturday Review** of August 12, 1961, said: "This is not what happened at all."

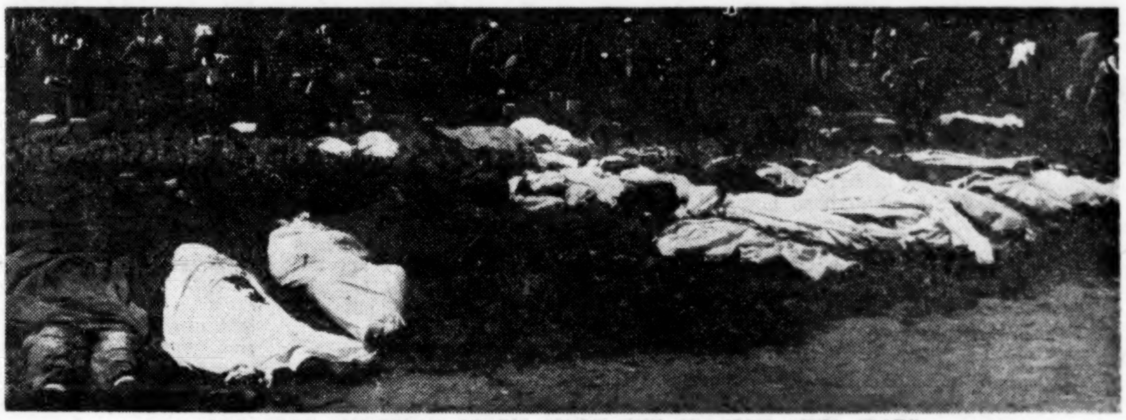
Roper makes it painfully clear that the ante was upped not in Havana but in the U.S. press. To begin with, Roper said, the Castro offer at the start was for 500 D-8 Super bulldozers—not tractors. The Caterpillar Co. estimated that these bulldozers would cost approximately $20 million. Castro did not mention a figure. Reference to tractors instead of bulldozers, and the $2 million figure originated with the U.S. press and with unidentified U.S. negotiating committee spokesmen.

This finding, Roper said, was based on a careful study of the New York **Times**, which was caught with its ante up and its impeccable trousers down. But the **Times** was not alone. A New York **Herald Tribune** headline read: "Fidel Ups Ransom Ten Fold." **Life** magazine informed its readers that Castro had "gleefully" sent the U.S. negotiators home with a fresh demand for $28.-000,000 worth of tractors. And of course, the bulldozers, which the Cubans wanted for farm work, were transformed in the American press into mighty treaded weapons of war.

Roper, no friend of Fidel's, concluded thus: "The handling of the tractors' exchange by a large segment of the nation's press was **at least** loose and misleading, if not actually irresponsible. In a democracy such as ours, which depends for its success on a well-informed electorate, it is essential that the 'free press' of which we boast be also an **objective** press that reports the facts **honestly.**"

AS JULY APPROACHED, the air in the offices of the United Press International in Mexico City must have been thinner than ever. How else can one account for the travel note that follows? This is the lead of a UPI story which appeared in the New York **Mirror** June 23, under a banner head on page 3: "Is Castro On Outs With Mother?":

"Mexico City, June 22, (UPI)—Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's mother appeared in the nearby resort of Cuernavaca today as unconfirmed reports circulated that she has quarreled with her son and 'defected.' Mrs. Lina Cruz Castro's plans for returning to Havana were described as 'indefinite,' but there was no indication that she was abandoning Cuba permanently."



"THE BEST SHOOTING STORY SINCE THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR"
Some reporters left, but the Tunisians set about burying their dead at Bizerte

Now here is a story in the **Times**, same day, under a one-column headline reading: "Castro's Mother in Mexico." Same Mexico City dateline, same UPI credit. The lead says:

"Premier Fidel Castro's mother was visiting in the nearby resort city of Cuernevaca today. Senora Lina Cruz de Castro arrived here from Havana Monday. She said at the airport that she had come to 'attend the birth of a new grandchild.' Her daughter Emma, wife of Victor Lomeli, a Mexican architect, is expected to give birth to her first child within the next few days."

I cannot say for sure what happened, because I don't know if the **Mirror** idiocy was filed first or second. But it is safe to say that a UPI order came out of New York—or somewhere—to tone the story up or down. Not serious perhaps, but serious enough to demonstrate that even grandmothers and unborn babes are fair game these days, if their son and uncle are named Fidel.

OUR THIRD PIECE of fantasy comes in midsummer, during the height of the hijacking season. As you know, hijacking was all the rage this year. On Aug. 3, the New York **World-Telegram** screamed in a two-line page one banner headline: "Cubans Hijack Jet With 73, Hold 10 Hostages in Texas." This headline was repeated in the first editions of just about every afternoon newspaper in America that day. The headline, and its cousins, were based on an obscure report from the Continental jet liner at El Paso, that the armed hijackers "looked like Cubans" although they spoke "pretty good English." As it turned out, the hijackers were 100% Americans speaking pretty good Arizona English.

The late editions of the afternoon papers and the next morning's papers reluctantly de-Cubanized the hijackers; but the damage had been done. On Capitol Hill our lawmakers howled for the Marines to go into Cuba — as though they were not already there —and for a naval and air blockade until Castro "purges" himself.

The indecent haste with which the legislators leaped into the headlines, before there was any hard news of the identity of the highjackers, was frightening but not surprising. The **Herald Tribune** piously noted that many legislators were "inflamed by the early headlines." But for the grace of the fact that it was a morning newspaper, the jazzy new **Herald Tribune** would have been in there screaming with the rest.

Looking for some kind of analysis of the coverage of this story, I thumbed through the first issue of **Editor and Publisher,** the journal of the newspaper industry, that came out after the incident. A three-column story on page 12 was headed: "Plane Hijack Story Rough One for the Press." There followed paragraph after paragraph telling how the El Paso cops and border guards had roughed up the reporters covering the story. Not one word about the early afternoon headlines—or the implications on Capitol Hill, or on the truth.

There **was** hijacking indeed in the Cuba story: The publishers and the opinion makers in the nation's press hijacked common sense right out of the reach of the public.

SHIFTING FROM CUBA, I was struck, late in July, by a story from Tunis, by the **Herald Tribune** correspondent Sanche de Gramont. He told of more than 100 reporters from as far away as Australia and Japan converging on Tunisia to cover the awfulness that had just taken place at Bizerte. Even at the time of his writing, he said, there was a trickle of reporters coming in, but others, who felt that they had "skimmed the cream" of the story, had left. And one English correspondent was quoted as calling the action "the best shooting story since the Spanish Civil War."

What this blockhead was talking about was a massacre which had left "700 Tunisians dead amid scenes of carnage and atrocity." The quote is from Christopher Brasher, a non-blockhead correspondent in Bizerte for the London **Observer.** Brasher's story (July 31), documented by photographs, described the effect of French mortar fire and plain human bestiality: a pregnant woman split open, embryo exposed; four Tunisians in a kneeling position, shriveled and burned, who had been taken out of a mosque; a man with the sign of the French fascist organization Jeune Nation cut on his chest with a bayonet or a knife. And more.

The French press officer on Admiral Amman's staff, who gave newsmen the official version of the action, said, off the record: "I am sick at heart."

Now skip a month to Aug. 25, to the United Nations special Assembly called to try to force France to negotiate her withdrawal from Bizerte. Sixty-six nations supported the move in a vote that day. Reporting the story in the **Times** Aug. 26, Henry Giniger wrote:

"Thirty nations abstained, including the United States and Britain, whose friendship with Tunisia and France precluded a clear stand."

Thus on page one of the imperial **Times** Giniger has passed judgment. Speaking for the United States he says in effect that a clear stand against massacre is impossible because it might offend the perpetrators of the massacre. The Department of State has precluded, and Mr. Giniger accepts the preclusion without question.

I WAS STRUCK by another phenomenon lately — and it rather fits in this connection: The number of newspapermen and commentators who have joined the planning of the holy wars of the New Frontier. I can think, just off hand, of Edward R. Murrow of CBS, now head of the U.S. Information Agency; of William Jorden of the **Times** and Ernest K. Lindley of **Newsweek,** now policy planners in the State Dept., and Arthur Sylvester of the Newark **Evening News,** now of the Defense Dept.

There's nothing wrong with newspapermen going into government service; but the frightening thing is that so many Washington and foreign correspondents have identified themselves in their stories with Administration policy, that the transition seems so very natural.

Here then is the great danger. If, as Roper said, an informed electorate is the heart of a successful democracy, the record shows that the electorate is miserably and deliberately misinformed.

But the danger is not only to the successful operation of a democracy. We are dealing here with life and death questions. If we are not informed, accurately and honestly, about the policies our country is pursuing, and about significant events abroad, we cannot form honest and accurate opinions about these policies and these events. And it follows that we cannot make valid protest.

Thus we may well allow ourselves to be blown to Kingdom Come, not even protesting en route.

This is the consequence of misinformation. The danger is to survival itself.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS SEEKS ASYLUM

U. S. Negro leader hunted by the FBI is safe in Cuba

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, militant Negro civil rights leader who fled with his family from his home in Monroe, N.C., under a threat of lynching, arrived safely in Cuba in the last week of September after a month-long manhunt by the FBI.

Williams left his home just before a grand jury indicted him on a charge of kidnapping a white couple during two days of racial violence in late August. Three other persons are in jail in Monroe on the same charge. The FBI entered the case on the grounds that Williams was in "unlawful flight to avoid prosecution." The FBI's "wanted" posters described Williams as "armed, schizophrenic and extremely dangerous."

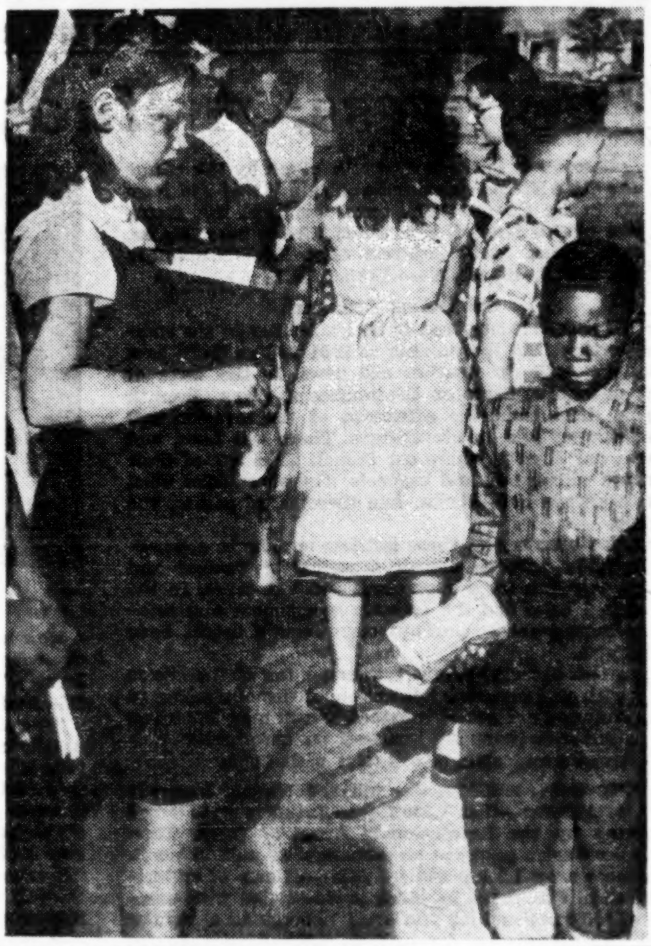
His arrival in Cuba was first reported by William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore **Afro-American** who said "I ran into him today [Sept. 27] as he was leaving the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." United Press International later reported that he had asked the Cuban government for political asyum.

ROUTE HIDDEN: Williams has denied the kidnaping charge (GUARDIAN, Sept. 25). Worthy, at Williams' request, did not reveal the escape route but indications were that Williams had first made his way to Canada. It was reported that he was protected along the way by a network of friendly groups and was frequently accompanied by local attorneys in case of his sudden capture and to refute any possible false stories of his being "shot while resisting arrest."

The indictment against Williams was handed up on Aug. 28 after Mr. and Mrs. G. Bruce Stegall of Marshville, N.C., testified that they had been held as hostages for two and a half hours during the height of mob violence in Monroe. Williams issued a statement while in flight in which he said: "I had saved the lives of people who were now accusing me of kidnapping. I am not guilty. My only crime is that I am a Negro who has loudly and militantly protested America's ruthless oppression of Negroes."

TRIAL SET: Richard Crowder, Harold Reap and John Lowery are being held in high bail in Monroe on the kidnapping charge. Their trial is tentatively set to begin in November. A fourth defendant is charged with assault with a deadly weapon against a policeman.

The Monroe riots climaxed a series of picketing demonstrations by local residents and a group of Freedom Riders on their way home after arraignment in Jackson, Miss., on charges of violating segregation laws.



An early lesson in the American way of life is learned by Bruce Alvin Roberts, 6, as he walks past some white pupils on his way to classes at Amelia Earhart Elementary School at Dallas, Texas. Bruce may look apprehensive, but he's young for this sort of role. Theoretically, segregation ended in the Dallas Independent school district. In fact, only 8 of 101 elementary schools were integrated, and these in the first grades only.

Negro group plans big drive for vote

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference, at its annual meeting in Nashville, Tenn., Sept. 27-29, announced plans for intensifying the drive against segregation in the Deep South.

Two programs to be emphasized are: (1) a voter registration campaign to double the Negro vote in the Deep South, and (2) the the recruiting and training of a "non-violent army" to carry out direct action projects throughout the South.

Rev. James Lawson, who will be in charge of the workshop to develop the non-violent army, said in his keynote address to the meeting: "We are wringing great concessions, but not creating real change. We are just the prelude of a serious revolution in the South."

Dr. King, speaking at a rally attended by more than 2,000, called the Negro movement for integration "a revolt against gradualism or do-nothingism which ends up in stand-stillism."

Other speakers were: James Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; William Kuntsler, lawyer for Freedom Riders, and Spottswood Robinson, member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The meeting, attended by 200 delegates representing every Southern state, adopted a resolution commending the Interstate Commerce Commission's ruling on desegregation of interstate travel facilities and calling for its strict enforcement, and a resolution urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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See GBS bargains on Page 12

BOOKS

Heart and reason

IN HIS NEW BOOK, **The Informed Heart,*** Dr. Bruno Bettelheim presents "those aspects of his thoughts and work that have to do with the human condition in modern mass society, and with the psychological impact of totalitarian tendencies." He concludes his preface by saying: "No longer can we be satisfied with a life where the heart has its reasons, which reason cannot know. Our hearts must know the world of reason, and reason must be guarded by an informed heart. Hence the title of this book."

Dr. Bettelheim is the head of the University of Chicago's Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School, which is largely his creation. In his earlier books, **Love Is Not Enough** and **Truants From Life,** he described his pioneering work in creating a special environment designed to return to useful community life the deeply disturbed (schizophrenic) children who ordinarily might be expected to waste their lives in an institution. These books reveal to us a great healer, a man of original and creative powers, who has helped children unreachable in other ways. It is therefore with considerable reluctance that certain negative opinions about this new book must be recorded.

THE AUTHOR was born in Vienna in 1903 and, as a perceptive, sensitive and gifted young man, was drawn to ponder seriously the seminal concepts of Marx and Freud. He became a practitioner of psychoanalysis. After the **Anschluss** he was confined to the concentration camps at Dachau and Buchenwald for a year, and came to the United States in 1939. **The Informed Heart** derives from his experiences in the camps.

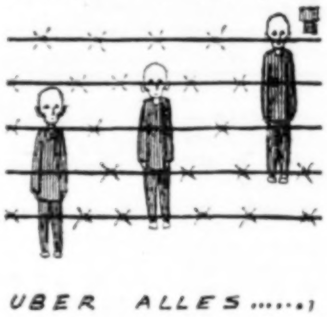
The first three chapters describe the progress of Dr. Bettelheim's thinking up to the time he entered the concentration camp, dominated by an either-or mode of dealing with questions, which he feels he later overcame. (**Either** nature **or** nurture determines the human condition . . . etc.)

Chapters four and five describe "Behavior in Extreme Situations." Here Bettelheim the psychological observer comes into his own, and we are given valuable detail on the effect of the frightful conditions in the camps upon the psychic life. At his best, the author is as good as a first-rate novelist.

BUT THERE IS SOMETHING strange in the proportions of the book; so much space and care are devoted to an analysis of the techniques of survival in "extreme situations." Is there not an implication that fascism is inevitable and that we had better learn how to survive under it? His analysis of the case of the Anne Frank family seems particularly one-sided in this respect. Is not the great question how to prevent fascism rather than how to survive under it?

Similarly, in Dr. Bettelheim's views on the purpose of the Nazis in subjecting the concentration camp inmates to humiliation, his thesis is that it is of "the very essence of the total mass State that it sets out to destroy individual autonomy." The life in the camps, he finds, was designed to make the inmates totally submissive to the State, relinquishing all autonomy and self-direction. This is probably true; but emphasis on this aspect of fascism with almost total neglect of its anti-working class character gives an unbalanced picture and leads to a mistrust of organization in general, including working class organization aimed at combating fascism.

From an examination of his camp experiences Dr. Bettelheim hopes to learn something of use to modern man, who "suffers from his inability to make a choice, as he sees it, between renouncing freedom and individuality, or giving up the material comforts of modern technology and the security of a collective mass society. This, as I see it, is the true conflict of our times." And: "It is my conviction that to withstand and counteract the deadening impact of mass society, a man's work must be permeated by his personality."



EARLY IN LIFE Dr. Bettelheim became passionately interested in the creation of a "good" society both "stable and secure while permitting greatest freedom of personal development and self-realization. **It took me many years . . . to recognize . . . the contrary nature of these requirements."** (Emphasis added.) In this sentence is implicit the central thought of the book and, to this reviewer, the central error. The book contains many brilliant observations and is full of personal integrity. But it reveals again that political blindness is disastrous in our time.

Politically, Dr. Bettelheim is a sort of anarchist. An unexpressed premise of his argument is that all state control is in part a response to the dependency needs of the people. To him "the wish to be taken care of" is universal, and he seems to believe that any gratification of this need is harmful. He lumps together the fascist state and the socialist state, as though the ways in which they "take care" of people were identical. He writes: "But Russia, it was apparent by the Twenties, is not creating the society that would guarantee full self-realization to man."

By the Twenties! From other passages, it is clear Dr. Bettelheim does not believe that full self-realization is quickly achieved; but he demands it of Russia in ten years—of a Russia which had to deal with invasions, the destruction of war, illiteracy inherited from Czarism. His inadequacy in political thinking, his neglect of the class nature of society, produce a fatal flaw in his judgment.

Bettelheim misconceives the central conflict of our time and therefore looks in the wrong place for its solution. Knowledge of the individual depth psychology of fascist and anti-fascist will never defeat fascism. Only political knowledge, knowledge of the nature of classes and how to organize them, will lead to that "good" society which all men of good will desire along with Dr. Bettelheim.

—**Edmund Weil**

**THE INFORMED HEART, by Bruno Bettelheim. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 309 pages, $5.*

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A FRENCH FRIEND'S VIEWS

Algeria's future

GERMAINE TILLION'S **France and Algeria: Complementary Enemies*** is the second of her books published in the United States in which she outlines what she believes to be France's responsibiilty "to cure the great bleeding ulcer Algeria has become." Like **Algeria—the Realities,** which appeared here 1957, it is a strange compound of good will, generosity, unconscious admissions, and a deliberate refusal to face a basic fact: That unconditional independence is the only viable solution to the conflict whose effects on the Moslem population and the French body politic she deplores.

As a former member of a Resistance network and a prisoner of the Gestapo, as well as an ethnologist who has done field work among the North African peasantry, Mme. Tillion is appalled by the repressive measures, the executions, the tortures and other atrocities inflicted upon Algerian civilians and fighters alike. Her sincerity apparently earned her the respect of the Liberation Front; one of her chapters is devoted to the account of a secret meeting in 1957 with Saadi Yacef, a leader of the underground military organization, for whom she later interceded when he was condemned to death. (She reports that she persuaded him to call off the indiscriminate terrorist attacks against French civilians).

YET, IN THIS INTERVIEW with Saadi Yacef, Mme. Tillion reveals her inability to understand the real aims of the liberation struggle or the international context within which it is being waged. She declares that if, "in some remote future, France grows tired of the loss of and money this chronic war represents, and if she were then to abandon it, it seems to me impossible that the Algerian workers would retain their present privileges in the French labor market. In that case, the whole country [Algeria] is doomed to a swift and necessarily bloody regression." As if the present state of affairs provoked by France were not bloody enough. Moreover, a truly independent Algeria would require the labor power **at home** of those 400,000 countrymen whom Mme. Tillion sees as now occupying so favored a position in France through the bounty of French capitalism.

The Algerian leaders are not satisfied to avert the threat of unemployment through the permanent exile of the best-trained of her workmen. Nor do they accept Mme. Tillion's assumption that the technical progress and future prosperity of Algeria is dependent upon French exploitation of its natural and human resources. Her assurance that "the war, after de Gaulle's declaration on self-determination, has gradually lost all its justification" must have an ironic sounds to a nation which has been offered a purely formal freedom, qualified by the loss of three-fourths of its territory (the Sahara), the severance of its centers of population, the imposition of military enclaves, etc. Not to speak of the probability of being subject from time to time to acts of aggression á la Suez and Bizerte.

MME. TILLION, a French patriot, may be expected to look for proofs of the disinterested character of her country's motives. But sometimes she is herself suspect, as when she argues that France is indifferent to the profits to be obtained from the oil of the Sahara. (She understandably refrains from mentioning the more than 600 billion francs de Gaulle has already invested in its development.) Not for a moment does she consider that Algeria might get help from somewhere other than France to raise the material and cultural level of its people. The socialist countries do not exist for her, though their assistance to Guinea and other newly independent African nations stares her in the face. The example of Guinea could be particularly painful to her in view of Guinea's alacrity in taking herself out of the French Community.

In short, Mme. Tillion, for all her good intentions, suffers from nationalist provinciality. She cannot believe that France is no longer the spiritual center of the world, and that nations such as Algeria, once they have gained their freedom, now have other recourse than to the kindness-with-threats-attached of their old oppressors.

—**Charles Humboldt**

**FRANCE AND ALGERIA: COMPLEMENTARY ENEMIES, by Germaine Tillion. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 183 pp. $3.*

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

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New CIA chief

(Continued from Page 1)

in a position of stopping testing just for the purpose of sitting at the conference table."

In 1960, McCone introduced what became his favorite theme: tests have to be resumed because the Russians are probably cheating with undetectable underground tests. Joseph Alsop in the New York **Herald Tribune** of May 3, 1960, paraphrased a McCone speech to the Foreign Policy Assn.: "We must not stand still for long. For 18 months now we have depended on the words of the Soviets. They have stated their weapons testing has been halted. We have accepted this in good faith. Yet no positive proof is available or possible . . . If their word is not good, the past 18 months will have given them time to catch up in nuclear weapons development."

ISSUE PUT OFF: Eisenhower Administration leaders were divided on resumption of tests. Some wanted to continue the Geneva negotiations, arguing that nothing was lost as long as the moratorium continued and since the U.S. was considered "ahead" of the U.S.S.R. in nuclear weaponry. McCone headed the group that wanted to resume testing. In the summer of 1960 Eisenhower decided to let his Administration ride out the issue and allow the next president to resolve it. When British Prime Minister Macmillan came up with a hot compromise to settle U.S. and Soviet differences at Geneva, McCone flew to London to cool him off.

McCone also began leaking stories of secret Russian underground tests. Vice President Richard Nixon picked up the theme in his 1960 Presidential campaign. In a campaign speech Nixon asserted (**I. F. Stone's Weekly** said McCone inspired the statement) that a new seismic station at Fort Sill, Okla., had recorded a disturbance in the Soviet Union which "might have been a large underground nuclear explosion." Two days later the New York **Times** reported that the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Air Force said the tremor was an earthquake off Siberia.

RUSSIANS ACCUSED: In a final report as AEC chairman, McCone called for resumption of tests—underground, "in such a way as not to cause fallout"—and warned that the Russians may have conducted secret tests during the moratorium. But **The Nation** reported Dec. 31, 1960, that it "has it on the highest scientific authority that there is not the slightest reason, on the basis of classified or unclassified data, to believe that the Russians have been testing nuclear weapons."

McCone expanded his theme in an interview with **U.S. News & World Report**, Dec. 19, 1960. He said: "I don't think the suspension of tests would have any effect whatsoever on the danger of nuclear war."

On the dangers of fallout, he said: "It is my opinion that it was overemphasized, but I might add that there seems to be an honest difference of opinion among scientists."

CALTECH DISPUTE: Four years earlier McCone was considerably less charitable about "honest differences" on fallout perils. During the 1956 Presidential campaign, ten scientists from the California Institute of Technology published a statement in support of Adlai Stevenson's proposal for a nuclear test ban. They included physicist Dr. Thomas Lauritsen, Nobel Laureate Dr. Carl D. Anderson and Dr. Harrison Brown. McCone was a Caltech trustee and chairman of its fund-raising program.

McCone came to a trustee meeting, according to an eyewitness, "bright purple," and resigned as fund-raising chairman. He sent a letter to Dr. Lauritsen which said: "Your statement is obviously designed to create fear in the minds of the uninformed that radioactive fallout from H-bomb tests endangers life. However, as you know, the National Academy of Sciences has issued a report this year completely discounting such danger. Also you know from your close contact with the tests that one of the important objects of them is to develop techniques for reducing fallout.

JOHN A. McCONE
A crusader for CIA?

"Your proposition that postponement of tests will delay the time when other nations might possess practical H-bomb experience seems to have no foundation. In fact, it is an argument that has for several years been a prominent part of Soviet propaganda."

During Congressional hearings on McCone's appointment as AEC chairman in July, 1958, Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.N.) recalled the incident. He asked McCone what difference he saw between Dr. Edward Teller's public pronouncements for tests and the Caltech scientists' statements against them. McCone replied: "Well, Dr. Teller was speaking as an individual and as an authority in a particular area. I felt, as I have said before, that Dr. Harrison Brown, recruited ten men, I assume he did, ten of them altogether, and using their position in the Institute injected themselves into what appeared to me to be a political argument."

GOLF PARTNER: McCone has never ruled himself out of political arguments. He is a lifelong Republican and one of the party's major fund-raisers in California. He is a close friend and frequent gold partner of former President Eisenhower.

McCone was Southern California finance chairman of former Sen. William Knowland's unsuccessful campaign for governor in 1958. He is close to Richard Nixon and reportedly would have been Nixon's choice as Secy. of Defense if he had been elected President.

Despite his Republican ties, McCone has managed well under Democratic administrations. He was called to Washington first by President Truman to serve on the Air Policy Committee in 1947-1948. This lead to appointment as Under Secy. of the Air Force in 1950-1951.

In between government jobs, McCone has spent his time building a fortune. McCone's family owned an iron foundry with branches in several cities. He was graduated from the U. of California as an engineer in 1922. By World War II, he was a partner in Bechtel-McCone-Parsons (now Bechtel-McCone), an engineering and contracting firm.

SHIP COMPANY: Late in 1940, a group of West Coast companies formed the California Shipping Co., with McCone as president, to build an emergency shipyard for the U.S. Maritime Commission. The company also got a contract to build ships. McCone has often boasted that Calship built 467 ships worth $1 billion. But House Merchant Marine Committee hearings in 1946 had another version.

The hearings revealed that Calship started with $100,000 and got $500,000 from a dividend which the stockholders lent back to the company interest-free. Calship borrowed large sums from the Bank of America on which most of the interest was paid by the Maritime Commission. Ralph E. Casey of the U.S. General Accounting Office asserted that Calship had made a $44 million profit on a $600,000 investment. McCone challenged the figures, but he conceded later that the company had made at least $35 million "after renegotiation but before taxes."

McCone expanded his financial interests after the war. He became a director of the California Bank, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance and Industrial Indemnity Co. He is sole owner of Joshua Hendy Corp. and Panama Pacific Tankers.

NEW YORK

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STOCK SHIFTED: When McCone was nominated for AEC chairman in 1958, his extensive holdings seemed to violate the "conflict of interest" prohibition. But McCone side-stepped the issue deftly. He disposed of some minor holdings and placed his stock in Joshua Hendy Corp. in voting trust in the California Bank. Thus, he told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that none of his companies do business with the AEC.

But Hendy does considerable business with major AEC contractors, such as Union Carbide, Kaiser Engineers, Bechtel Co., Dow Chemical and Utah Construction Co. In addition, McCone is a stockholder and director of the California Bank.

McCone is described as deeply religious. He is a prominent lay Catholic and a regent of Loyola University of Los Angeles. President Eisenhower sent him as personal representative to the 80th birthday celebration of Pope Pius XII in 1956.

I. F. Stone in his **Weekly** Nov. 7, 1960, called him "a rightist Catholic with 'holy war views." As CIA director, McCone will be in a good position to conduct a crusade.

Use of halls denied to civil rights groups

LOS ANGELES—Arrangements for use use of halls for rallies featuring speakers opposed to the Supreme Court decisions on the Smith and McCarran Acts have been canceled here. The actions were linked to the HUAC attack on civil rights groups.

A Freedom of the Press Banquet Oct. 15 has been moved to the Park Manor, 607 South Western, L.A. The Embassy Auditorium canceled a date for a rally under auspices of the Constitutional Liberties Information Center.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

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Good response

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Every editor wonders (at times) whether people are really reading the paper he edits. I'm most convinced that folks are reading the GUARDIAN. A few months ago I had a letter to the editor published in the GUARDIAN telling of the **Bulletin of African History** I planned to publish. I have had about 130 letters asking for subscription to the bulletin (it's free).

Now the **Bulletin of African History** is out. Enclosed is the first issue. I want to thank you for carrying the letter announcing it. It surely was read! The GUARDIAN is a GREAT paper. The first-hand reports from abroad are marvelous.

Eugene Feldman
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BOSTON

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Fri., Oct. 13 at 8:15 p.m., Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St. (Copley Sq.) Ausp: Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants

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"Is the Cuban Revolution Serving the Needs of the Cuban People?" **DEBATE at** Mandel Hall, 57 St. & University, **Fri.,** Oct. 6, 8 p.m. **Affirmative,** Sidney Lens, labor leader and author just returned from tour of Latin America & Cuba. **Negative,** Roberta Montero, member of Cuban Counterrevolutionary Council. Ausp: Univ. of Chicago Fair Play for Cuba Comm. Adm: 75c, students 50c.

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SAT., OCT. 14 — DR. PHILIP FONER, "MARK TWAIN: SOCIAL CRITIC"

SAT., OCT. 21—FATHER D. R. CAMPION, S. J., "MATER et MAGISTRA"; The Encyclical of Pope John XXIII.

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THE GALLERY

REV. L. C. McHUGH wrote in the Roman Catholic weekly **America** that in a nuclear attack a man may use any means necessary, including a gun, to prevent others from breaking into his survival shelter. "Nowhere in traditional Catholic morality," he wrote, "does one read that Christ, in counseling non-resistance to evil, rescinded the right of self-defense which is granted by nature and recognized in the legal systems of all nations." . . . Rev. John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame University in **Look** magazine called for a Federal crash program to perfect the rhythm system of birth control. "The Federal government spends $3,000,000 a year on the program to control foot-and-mouth disease," he wrote. "A program to protect the rhythm method, which promises much more for the peace and happiness of the world, surely should receive as much Federal support." . . . Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg stirred a whirl of criticism from Catholic newspapers when he said: "We live under the illusion that woman's place is in the home—a concept that is basically not accepted . . ." Father Edward L. Murphy of St. Joseph's Workingmen's Retreat League in Boston asked for clarification. Goldberg quickly answered that he was talking about the notion that woman's place is "only in the home."

FIVE INMATES OF THE NEW YORK PRISONS applied for copies of a new State pamphlet, "Your Rights If Arrested." . . . At a hearing on proposed vehicle legislation in New York, Arnold W. Wise, counsel to the Dept. of Motor Vehicles, reported that all traffic lights in the state except one have the red light over the green. The exception is a light on Tipperary Hill, an Irish neighborhood in Syracuse. "Nothing goes above green there," Wise said. "When we had the standard red over green, the kids threw stones at the light." . . . From **Medical Economics,** Sept. 11: "If nuclear war comes, you'll be expected to reverse medicine's usual order of caring for disaster victims. Doctors in reserve Army medical units are being trained to treat the least seriously injured H-bomb victims first, thus restoring their productivity. The most badly hurt will be treated last—if at all." . . . Furrier Georges Kaplan in New York is featuring a mink raincoat. The New York **Herald Tribune** reported: "The raincoat is a new sheared mink developed this year by Kaplan who was looking for an extra lightweight mink coat. They found out it was waterproof when Jacques Kaplan spilled a coke over it and it ran right off. He rushed to the workroom and began dumping water on all the sheared mink skins and that's how fashion is born these days." . . . Rev. Frederick Hill of Congregational Church in Mitcham, England, urged his parishioners to "fast" one day a week from television, radio and picture magazines . . . A Sept. 27 Reuters dispatch read: "South Korean military court prosecutors yesterday demanded stiff sentences for nine South Korean university students, charged with advocating cultural exchanges with Communist North Korea."

ATLAS SHELTER CO. of Los Gatos, Calif., says experts look for a nuclear showdown in '62, so there is not much time. Atlas will install a 10-person shelter, the equivalent of 32 tons of protection, in your backyard in 48 hours . . . The FHA in Washington is offering 5-year loans of up to $3,500 for building shelters if you're building a new home or doing your house over. In between bombings the FHA model can be used as a laundry or darkroom . . . Since J. Carleton Adair, program officer for the civil defense organization of Las Vegas, announced his readiness to defend Nevada against an invasion of Southern Californians fleeing atomic radiation from the Los Angeles area, the shoot-'em-down school gained a big-hearted adherent in Keith Dwyer, civil defense co-ordinator of Riverside County, California. If Los Angeles were bombed, said he, refugees would pour into the neighboring area. Pulling out a pistol from a large can of dehydrated food, Dwyer advised a group of police reservists: "Get one of these and learn how to use it." However, realist Dwyer received a setback when County Supervisor Paul J. Anderson announced that he would ask the Board of Supervisors to relieve Dwyer of his post. Nuclear refugees from Los Angeles would be welcome in Riverside, Anderson stated.

—**Robert E. Light**

Cuba taking inventory

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Cedric Belfrage's account of Cuba's economic conference, on page 6, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vit. B-12 (Oral Conc.)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vic K. Analog)	1 mgm.

100 Capsules Now $3.95
(Formerly $5.50)

MULTIPLE VITAMIN

In small, easy-to-swallow capsules

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vit. A. Palmitate	5,000 USP Units
Vit. D	500 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine HCL)	3 mg.
Vit. B-2	2.5 mg.
Vit. B-6	0.5 mg.
Vit. C	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	20 mg.
Vit. B-12	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.25 mg.

100 Capsules Now $1.50
(Formerly $1.75)
250 Capsules, just $3.25

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

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NEWSPAPER

VITAMINS & MINERALS

For general use

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oil)	5000 USP Units
Vit'n D (Irrad. Ergosterol)	1000 USP Units
Vitamin B-1 (Thiamin HCL)	2 mgm.
Vitamin B-2 (Riboflavin	2.5 mg.
Vitamin B-6 (Pyridoxine HCL)	0.75 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 USP	1.5 mcg.
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	50 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Niacinamide	20 mg.
Folic Acid USP	0.34 mg.
Vitamin E (from d-alpha Tocopheryl Acetate Conc. NF)	3 I.U..
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	747 mg.
(Calcium)	215 mg.
(Phosphorus)	106 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate Dried USP (Iron 13.4 mg.)	45.56 mg.
Manganese Sulfate Dried (Manganese 1.5 mg.)	4.72 mg.
Zinc Sulfate Dried (Zinc 1.4 mg.)	3.9 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 1 mg.)	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 5 mg.)	11.2 mg.

100 capsules, $2.50

THERAPEUTIC VITAMINS And MINERALS

For people on restricted diets

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A Palmitate (Synthetic)	25,000 USP Units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 USP Units
Vitamin B1 (Thiamin Mononitrate)	10 mg.
Vitamin B2 (Riboflavin)	5 mg.
Vitamin B6 (Pyridoxine Hydrochloride)	1 mg.
Vitamin B12 USP	5 mcg.
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	150 mg.
Niacinamide	100 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	360 mg.
(Calcium)	102.6 mg.
(Phosphorus)	80.2 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried, USP (Iron 10 mg.)	34 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried (Manganese 0.954 mg.)	3 mg.
Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 4.93 mg.)	11 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 1 mg.)	2.8 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried (Zinc 1.4 mg.)	3.9 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried (Magnesium 5.5 mg.)	40 mg.

100 capsules, $4.95

HIGH POTENCY MULTIPLE VITAMINS FORMULA

For general vitamin deficiency

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vit. A (Natural)	12,500 USP Units
Vit. D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine Hcl)	5 mg.
Vit. B-2	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	30 mg.
Vit. B-12—Activity (Cobalamin Conc. N.F.)	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.5 mg.
Vit B-6	2 mg.
Vit. C	100 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	10 mg.

100 Capsules Now $2.95
(Formerly $3.25)

PEDIATRIC DROPS

EACH 0.6cc CONTAINS:

Vitamin A	5000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin B-1	1 mg.
Vitamin B-2	1 mg.
Vitamin B-6	1 mg.
d-Panthenol	10 mg.
Niacinamide	10 mg.
Vitamin C	50 mg.

60 cc bottle, $2.25

HIGH POTENCY THERAPEUTIC FORMULA

For run-down and convalescents

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oils)	25,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin B-1 (Thiamin Chloride)	10 milligrams
Vitamin B-2 (Riboflavin)	5 milligrams
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	150 milligrams
Niacinamide	150 milligrams

New, improved formula in a smaller, capsule-shaped tablet.

100 capsules. $3.

HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA

High in Iron, Folic Acid & B-12

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Ferrous Sulphate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 57.7 mg. of iron)	4.4 gr.
Liver Dessicated NF (Undefatted)	200 mg.
Stomach Powder	100 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	10 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.

100 Capsules Now $3.75
(Formerly $4)

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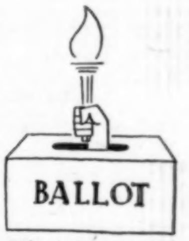
the SPECTATOR

Hold that Tiger!

THE NEW YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE of the Democratic Party on Sept. 27 held its first meeting since the Sept. 7 primary. After the meeting the question of where New York's reform movement is going was still open. The answer seemed to hinge on this point: How much reform is Mayor Robert F. Wagner willing to take?

Two other questions remained for the reformers: (1) How much can they influence the Mayor if they stick together? (2) Can they stick together? They split at the Sept. 27 meeting over support of the Mayor's candidate for county chairman, and the Mayor's man was chosen. They were nearly solid in demanding a significant change in the County Committee's rules and procedures, and the new rule was adopted.



Some veteran politicians, such as John Harrington, a reform leader, supported the Mayor's choice for county chairman, Fire Commissioner Edward Cavanaugh, apparently in the belief that the Mayor in return would accept a reformer for the more powerful post of county leader. Harrington is the choice of all reform chiefs for county leader. Others at the meeting—notably the supporters of Rep. William Fitts Ryan, the only reform Democrat in Congress—indicated a lack of trust in Mayor Wagner's dedication to reform. They nominated a reformer to run against Cavanaugh.

THE TUMULTUOUS MEETING—which Mayor Wagner later said produced a coalition of the new and "the best of the old"—may presage a clean up in New York City politics and government. But whether or not it does, one thing is certain: Tammany never saw anything like it before.

The boisterous meeting which started at 9:45 p.m., an hour and 45 minutes late, and ended at 5 a.m., was in startling contrast to past gatherings. Reformers recalled the smooth working of the well-oiled machine four years ago, when committeemen and women rubberstamped Tammany decisions. Then came 1959, when more districts had been won by reformers and the gallery rang with their shouts. "All we could do was yell in '59," a reformer said. This time the beefy, cigar-smoking Tammany men, who look like caricatures of themselves, were relegated to the gallery for the most part and the reformers had the floor and almost half of the votes.

The meeting was a great show for the observer, an earnest demonstration of strength for the reformers, a bitter last-ditch stand for the regulars. There were name-calling, boos and hisses and fist fights. Pinkerton men ejected the over-zealous and one group of regulars staged a walkout.

The strongest impression was that the regulars were simply perplexed. They didn't know what to do with leaders who couldn't reach decisions without several trips back to their delegations for instructions; or what to do with committee members who leaped to their feet to challenge the count or to insist on their right to be heard. Leaders were almost constantly in a huddle on the platform over a "point of order" or a "point of information." At one point more than 100 leaders were massed on the platform for a long debate about procedure.

It was a long, hard night for Chairman Cavanaugh, the Mayor's choice who had been elected by four-to-one over Malcolm Mason, the candidate of reformers.

THE STORM THAT PRECEDED the vote for county chairman was an indication of what was to come that evening and perhaps for a long time beyond. When reform leader Arnold Fein, who had withdrawn from the race for chairman, went to the rostrum to nominate Cavanaugh, boos and shouts of "chicken," and "sellout" rose. In retaliation Tammany men almost prevented reformer Theodore Weiss from nominating Mason. Rep. Ryan grabbed the gavel and pounded for order during his seconding speech, but the shouts rose to new heights when he said: "The King is dead." The "king," outgoing county chairman and leader Carmine De Sapio, sat and smiled.

The climax came at 3 a.m. when the impending defeat of Tammany opposition to a rules change became obvious. Reformers won a change which will require a meeting of the County Executive Committee when requested by members representing 25 per cent of the committee's 16 votes. Reformers have slightly more than a third of the votes. The Mayor wants to delay the executive meeting until after the Nov. 7 elections and, under the old rules, only the County Chairman could call it together. The executive committee selects the county leader.

BY 3 A.M. THE STURDY BAND of reformers, who had kept up their vigor by drinking coffee or catnaping across the seats, far outnumbered the Tammany stalwarts. Reformers forced a roll-call vote when they challenged a regular district's count and settled down for an all-night session. The challenged district conceded defeat when the roll-call reached them. One of their number raised a plaintive cry: "Clear the aisles. They got us surrounded!" Another pleaded for validation of their vote of 96 against the new rule. Delegates had left the hall, he said, thinking that they could leave their votes with the district leader to be recorded. The 40 or less who remained staged a walkout when the chair decided against them.

Near the end Chairman Cavanaugh recognized the futility of completing a poll of 3,400 delegates in a hall nearly depleted of Tammany regulars. When he called the last six districts to report, four lone regulars straggled up.

As the last few holdouts left the gallery one old-style Tammany man gave out with the last hurrah: "Remember November 7."

—Joanne Grant